1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were supported by the community, kept a much better table than the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Culture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

X 796 [805 776]

The ninth month they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: ofrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[223 262]

On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers: and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

[778]

X 796 535

Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before: and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

[534 778]

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And [273] the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Cap. 9

1 d KL **Tlaxochimaco** *d* 12
2 e La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa- *e* 13
3 f uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros *f* 14
4 g para comer, en hazer tamales y otras *g* 15
5 A cosas concernjentes a la comjda: luego *A* 16
6 b de mañanjta el dia desta fiesta: los *b* 17
7 c satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ *c* 18
8 d muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des- *d* 19
9 e pues de compuesta la estatua deste *e* 20
10 f dios: componjan las estatuas de los *f* 21
11 g otros dioses con guirnaldas y sartales *g* 22
12 A y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan *A* 23
13 b todas las otras estatuas de los calpules, *b* 24
14 c y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cai- *c* 25
15 d pisques y principales y maceguales, *d* 26
16 e todos componjan las estatuas que ten- *e* 27
17 f jan en sus casas con flores. *f* 28
18 g Compuestas las estatuas todos los *g* 29
19 A dioses: luego començauan a comer *A* 30
20 b aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas *b* 31

de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanian y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Durauа este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos rezialmente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

they placed before all the *xipeme*, they who had put on the skins of men.

And others, who had become drunk, unruly [like] warriors, daring, foolhardy, full of spirit, lively, proud of their valor, playing the part of men, started brawls, forced them to join issue, and battled as if in war, and fought.

And to arouse their wrath, verily to move them, that they might become enraged and angry, they snatched at and pinched their navels.

Whereupon the *xipeme* made them run. Behind them stood a *totec*, named the Youallauan; he followed them and went skirmishing with all the *tototecti*.

Then [the *tototecti*] set upon [the warriors] and took after them; they went on fighting them, seeking to seize and lay hands upon them, like holding those who had detained them by the leg.

And [the warriors] went whirling around, circling back, fighting the others with pine staves.

And if some were taken who had detained [the *xipeme*], these *xipeme* beat them; they struck [such an one] with their rattle sticks, showing their anger.

And they carried him to the Temple of Iopitli; and not for nothing did he come out, not for nothing was he let free. Something was given as ransom; something was taken—perchance a turkey-hen, mayhap a great cotton mantle he offered, etc.

As hath been told in the description of Xipe, just so was it done. Afterwards visits were made and entertainments provided for the *tototecti* and *xipeme*.

Thereupon began the gladiatorial sacrifice. The captives were spread out in order; the captors stood arranging and accompanying them. Then also the striped ones came forth; swiftly the ocelot[-costumed warrior] led and guided them; he came quickly to meet [the captives], displaying his shield and war club and lifting them up toward the sun [in dedication].[14]

Then he turned back, retreated, turned to the rear; once again he went back.

In the same manner there then followed him, coming second, the eagle[-costumed warrior], who similarly lifted up [as an offering] to the sun his shield and his war club.

Once again emerged another ocelot[-costumed warrior], who came out as third, doing the same as he quickly came out.

tlaixco qujnoalmana in xipeme, yn onmaqujxia tlacaeoatl.

Auh yn aqujque, mihiyintia iautlaueliloque, mixtlapaloanj, acan ixmauhque, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, quipopoanj yn jntiiacauhio moquichnenequj, qujmonpepeoaltia, qujmontlaehecalhuja, oiaiaopeoa, qujnmoiaiaopeoaltia.

Auh inic vel qujntlauelcujtiaia, ynic vel qujmolinjaia, ynic vel in tlauel, in qualan qujcuja, qujmonxiccuja, qujmõxiccuj, qujmonxiccotona:

ic njman in xipeme tlapaynaltiaia ymjcampa in teputzco icatiuh ce Totec, itoca iocallaoan, qujntoca qujntlaichecalhujtiuh, in muchintin tototecti:

ic njman intech ietiqujça, qujntlalochtoca, qujniaochiuhtiuj, qujmaacitiuj, qujnmamacujtiuj iuhq'n in cotztitech ietiuj, in teçaloanj:

auh oalmocueptiuj, oalmomalacachotiuj, ocoquauhtica quinoallaheecalhujtiuj.

Auh intla ceme anoia, in teçaloanj, qujnujujtequj in xipeme, in chicaoaztica, qujxixilia, vel qujncocoltia.

Auh iopico conujcaia, amo çan nen oalquiçaia, amo çan nen caoaloia, itla ic moqujxtiaia, itla ic onanoia, aço totoli, aço quachtli qujtemacaia. Ela

Yn o iuh mito ipan itlatollo xippe, çan ie no iuh mochioaia: çatepan, in ontetotocaque, yn onteaujeltique, yn ontlapactique tototecti, xipeme:

njman ic peoa in tlaoaoano, tecpantimanj in mamalti, qujnnanamjctimani, qujujujcatimanj in tlamanj: njman no oalquiça in tlaoaoanque, yiacatiujtz, qujiacatitiujtz, in teiacantiujtz ocelutl ipan quiztiujtz, conjttitia, conjaujlia yn ichimal, yn imaquauh, in tonatiuh:

njman oc cepa tzinquiça, tzinnenemj, tziniloti: oc cepa ycujtlaujc iauh:

in ie iuhquj njman qujoaltoquilia, qujoaloncaiotia, oallaoncaiotia in quauhtli, çan no yuj in conjaujlia tonatiuh, yn ichimal, yn imacquauh:

oc cepa no oalquiça, oc ce ocelotl, oallaccaiotitiuh, teccaiotitiujtz, çan no iuh quichioaia calactiuetzi.

14. Sahagún's Spanish has: "Levantaban la rodela, y la espada hacia el sol, como demandando esfuerzo al sol." Cf. also Pl. 5.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tagetes*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origanum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauheloxochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *escobedia;* one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tamales* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. Those were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Jnic cēpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanaliztli: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in moteneoaia Tlaxuchimaco.

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: moteneoa tlaxuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl:

viptlatica in xuchitemoloa, necenmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in ixquich xuchitl, in nepapan xuchitl, in tepepan xuchitl, yn acocoxuchitl, vitzitzillacuxuchitl, tepecempoalxuchitl, nextamalxuchitl, tlacoxuchitl, ocelxuchitl, cacalosuchitl, ocusuchitl, anoço aocusuchitl, quavelosuchitl, iollosuchitl, tlalcacalosuchitl, cempoalxuchitl, acasuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolxuchitl.

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaxitico xuchitl, yn oaxioaco, yn otlatujc, njmā ic moçoço, tlaçolo, tlaçoa: auh yn omoçoçoc, xuchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic.

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalia, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

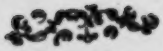
auh yn iquac muchioaia yn, yn ixquich maceoalli, cenuetzi in motamalhuja, teutlacpa in qujujujtla totolti, yoā in chichime, no teutlacpa in qujnchichinoa, techichinolo, in monequizque ioatzīco:

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yīlhujnemoa, iuhqujn tlatlaciuj, netetequjpacholo, injc tlacencaoalo.

Auh yn otlatujc in ichoantin teupixque, njman ie ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopuchtli, qujxuchicuzcatia, conicpaxuchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujtetecpanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetecpiloa, in ixquich

1. Cf. Ossuna y Rosa (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 38): "Micailhuitontli, Tlaxochimaco. *El primero con nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. . . . El nombre mexicano es Tlaxochimaco, palabra que Torquemada interpreta, cuando con dolor y reparación las flores: nosotros Veytia dice, entre de flores. En la fiesta principal del mes, consagrada á Huitzilopochtli, la entrega de ésta y las demas diosas eran adornadas profusamente con flores. . . .*" Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 162-3) further writes: ". . . *adornaban de flores a todos los ídolos, no solamente a los que se veneraban en los templos, sino también a los que tenian por devoción en sus casas: que por esto dukes el mes el nombre de* Tlaxochimaco."

2. See Robredo ed., Vol. III, pp. 275-6; Cf. also Bénz Sandoz, *op. cit., passim*, and Sahagún, *Ilmige Kapitel*, p. 156 (where a few German equivalents are given). Some are described also in Nardo Antonio Recchi: *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1651).



1796 782 **Here Are Told, in Very Truth, the Offerings Which They Made, in Order to Pay Honor to the Devil.**

Nican mitoa, in vel nelli tlamanaliztli, in quichioaia, inic qujmaviztiliaia tlacateculotl.

The Swallowing of Serpents.

Thus was done by those who swallowed serpents, when they observed [the feast of] Atamalqualiztli. They who were named *maçateca* swallowed [the serpents] while they were quite alive, holding them only in their mouths, cutting them to pieces [with their teeth] that they might swallow them. And when they had swallowed them, thereupon they were offered gifts, as hath been told in its place, and water *tamales* were eaten. [This happened] every eight years.

Coaxtololiztli.

Inic muchioaia, in coatl qujtolooaia, iquac yn atamalqualoia qujchioaia: moteneoaia maçateca, çan ioltiuja in qujntoloaia, çan incamatica in qujmonanaia, qujmxaxamatztiuja, ynic qujntoloaia. Auh yn jquac oq'ntoloque, çatepan motlauhtiaia, yn iuhquj ipan omito, atamalqualoia chicuexiuhtica.

The Swallowing of Frogs.

And thus they swallowed frogs, likewise alive. When this was similarly done, these very same *maçateca* performed [the swallowing].

Cueiatololiztli.

Auh injc cuecueia qujntoloaia çan no ioltivia, çan no iquac muchivaia, çan no ichoantin in maçateca qujchivaia.

Making Birds Fly.

[231] Thus was it done [when] birds were made to fly at the time of the feast of Etzalqualiztli: The youths tied birds to wooden rods; thus they danced as all [the birds, fastened by strings], circled [the wooden rods].

Totopatlanahililiztli.

Jnjc muchivaia, totopatlanaltiloia iquac in etzalqualiztli, in telpupuchtin quauhtitech quimjlpiaia in totome ic mjtotiaia in iquac tlaiaoaloloia.

Processions.

Processions were thus undertaken. For whatever feast was established, when this was done, all the people went in procession, perchance at dawn, or at sundown. Then they all dispersed.

Thiavaloliztli.

Jn tlaivaloliztli, ic muchivaia in tlein ilhujtl motlalitivia iquac muchivaia, muchi tlacatl tlaivalovaia, aço iohoxtzinco, anoço ie teutlac, ic tlaxitinjaia.

Singing in the Manner of Women.

X 1796 782 533 And the singing in the manner of women was thus done, when, mayhap, they formed [the image of] whatever devil. Then everywhere all the women

Cihoapâcuiquiztli.

Auh in jcihoapan cuiquiztli ic muchivaia iquac in aço tlacatia Diablo, in tlein, iquac muchintin

175 648 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Cuextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

conaçique compeuhque Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian qujuicatinen in vẽca españoles injc tepeuhque in cuextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Cuacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Azcapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

[231]

Don Martin hẽca ic vme tlatocat in tlatilulco: exiujtl ie impan in españoles. Ipan muchiuh, i çioacoatl qujqua piltzintli coçolco onoca vmpa azcapotzalco: ioan ipan muchiuh, vnteme quaquauhti quauhcalco manca no manca in vncã tlatilulco ic iuh chicuexiuitl mani quauhcalco motetique tlatlazque, oontetl in quauhtetl quitlazque icecentetl quauhtli.

Don Juan Auelittoc [was] the third, and he ruled Tlatilulco four years.

Don Iuan avellitoc ic ei tlatocat, in tlatilulco nauhxiujtl.

Don Juan Quauic onoc [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco seven years. And at the same time Don Pablo Xochiquen ruled Tenochtitlan. There came to pass in Tlatilulco a great marvel, a great example, [showing] how the world was to come to an end.

Don Iuan quauic onoc, ic nauj latocat in tlatilulco chicoxiujtl ioan icoac tlatocati Don pablo xochiquen in tenochtitlã, in muchiuh tlatilulco vej tlamaujçolli vej neixcujtilli injc tlamjz cemanaoac

Don Alonso Quauhnochtli [was] the fifth, and he ruled Tlatilulco two years.

Don Alonso quauhnochtlj, ic macujlli tlatocat in tlatilulco oxjujtl.

[731] Don Martín Tlacatecatl [was] sixth, and he ruled Tlatilulco for six years. In his time there came to pass the aforementioned great plague and a war in which were conquered the Chichimeca—people of Nochtlan,[2]—and Cibola, in the time of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy here in New Spain.

Don Martin Tlacatteccatl, ic chiquacen tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoacexiujtl. Ipan muchiuh in omoteneuh vej cocoliztli ioan in iaoiul injc pecaloque chichimeca, nochtlan tlaca, Scibola, ipan Don Antonjo de mendoça visorrej in njcan iancujc españa

[731] Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac [was] the seventh to rule in Tlatilulco. In his time there was a great plague, known as the swellings of the neck, and many were the deaths from it. And this one ruled ten years.

Don diego vitznaoatlailotlac ic chicome tlatocat in tlatilulco. Ipan muchiuh vej cocoliztli, itoca quechpoçaoaliztli cenca ic mjcoac, auh in ieboatl matlacxiujtl in tlatocat.

1. *Var manca no manca, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has manca no nenque.*
2. *In sing., xochipiltzin, youn tenoslan slave, youn talleres noctlan slave.*

524 525 won[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a [787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

ololiuhquj anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlacotli, calli, mjlli, tlaçotilmatli, pepechtli, veuej tilmatli: chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, xomoiujtilmatli. Auh in aqujn patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic trexquechili, in moquetzticaz etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamaujçolli ipan mottaia: njman muchi qnjtlanj, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in motlanjtoa in macanel aiamo açi in quezqujtetl aqujlli, iujc neteunonotzalo, injc netzopalo.

526 411 301 643 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about his wrist.

Tlatlamjna tlaujtolica, tipontica, totomjtica, tlacochtica: itlaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiujtl, ololiuhquj, anoço teuxiujtl in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia tlatoanj.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With [223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

Tlatlacaloazujs, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoaztli, iujcallo telolonatlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaoa telolotli, ic qujmotla tepitoton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca totomatlatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

mozochimjltia, mozochitepantia, caquja, in jxqujch nepapan xochitl,

522 524 There were their jesters who provided them solace and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

vncatca intetlaveuetzquiticahoan in qujmellelquixtiaia, in qujcecemelhia: ioan quaujlacatzoque in qujpaquiltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachioal teuetzqujti, ioan maujztic, in jca itocpal tlanjpa injc tlâmati çe tlacatl, tomaoac in quammjmjlli in qujtotia ica itocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmaiauj quammjmjlli ça ichoatl in jtocpal ic tlamati,

517 [732] [231] Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

mjiec tlamâtli, in tececemelti in qujchios, vncatca imaachoan, itoloan in quimujcatinenca in quimehellelquixtiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzome, teachme, quinpiaia quaquauhti, oçelome, cujcujtlachtin, ococtochtin, nepapan totetl.

2. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS reads *quidemine* (he wagered) instead of *quidemjlle*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
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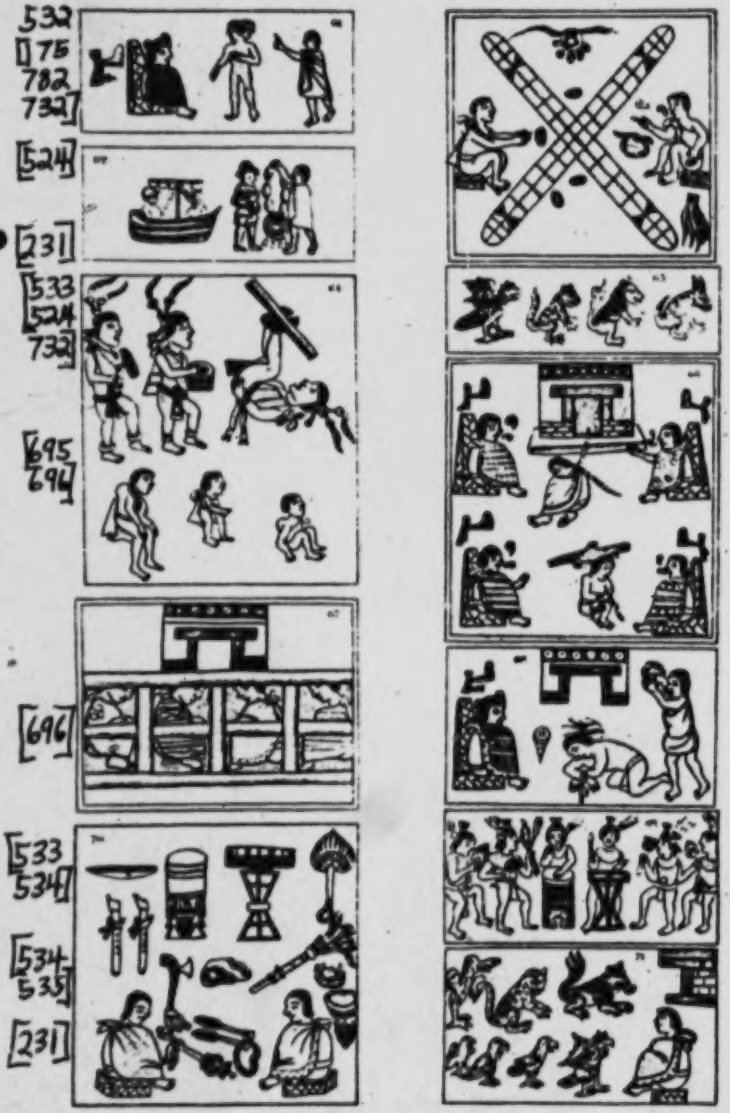

—After Paso y Troncoso

Towns (concluded). 61. Tzompantzel men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlacatlan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhtlan (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tezpiocalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(G)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5. (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parrakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncā mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mācehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mâçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujichecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mācehoallatqujtl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaiehecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaiehecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaiehecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaiehecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc ceqej cujcatl.

[302. 304]

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan totol: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlaiecoque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocnotchtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Pinpiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called *amanteca* after the district of Amantlan, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Ixtlil, *Hist. Chichimeca*, p. 278.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *mquanpixque* for *mquanpixque*, and begins with the verse a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Bologna heads the section, "*Cura de las fieras.*"

[p.46 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[30] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[31] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[32] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino*, the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[33] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[33] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[34]

[30] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[31] Cf. n. 35 above.
[32] *PNE*, 6: 201.
[33] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[34] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[47] as did Tequixquiac[48] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[49]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles[50]
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border[50]
800 white henequen mantles[50]
62 warriors' costumes, with shields[50]

FOOD[50]

[262 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[284] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[51]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[52]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[53]

[47] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[48] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[49] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[50] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyces y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[51] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[52] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING[bb]

2,010 bundles[b] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[c] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[b]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE[b]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

[a] *ENE*, 10: 126. [b] Corrected from 2,000. [c] Corrected from 800.

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808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers*

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton*

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?]
400 deerskins
100 live deer
100 large (live) parrots
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.**

* Corrected from 800.

** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalaetl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas bretadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pieletes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[a]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[b]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[c]

30. Xoconochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula,* and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino.* Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huixtlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

[a] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE,* 5: 2).

[b] *PNE,* 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[c] *PNE,* 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

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651

OTHER GOODS*

2 strings of chalchiuites
800 bunches of quetzal feathers
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni*
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

[316
231]

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 632 651

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which served as money. They also gave military aid.* [436]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida ?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.*

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.*

Icxitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.*

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.*

* *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescatauan a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Munteçuma les mandavan que enbiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

* *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecçuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que hera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Misteca."

* See Chila, above.

* *PNE*, 5: 75: " ... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y munchos jeneros de aves preciadas que ténia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

* "En tienpo de su ynfidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

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127 212 *Historia de las indias de Nueva-España y islas de Tierra Firme,* 1579 (Mexico, 1867–80). In this scene the most important glyphic element is the hill with a snake (Coatepec, the hill near Tula). It stands in the middle of lake beset by cattails, in which are swimming a bird, a fish, and a seal, while pollarded trees stand around, each with a bird on top. Two dignitaries are seated at either side, the male with a glyphic name representing a bird and a cactus, while the female is provided with a standard on which is seen an axolotl, rampant, with enormous external gills.

Fig. 2. Contaminated glyph for Tula, as it appears in the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Codex Boturini) (Anon., 1944).

The implication of this curious inconography is clear and disheartening. The details about the lake of Tula were concocted by native informants to explain the glyph, probably in a manuscript now lost. Later, the pictures were drawn to illustrate the story. The glyph that provoked the story need not have been that of Tollán, for any place with *tules* in its etymology would have sufficed. We must conclude that we do not know whether Tula was situated on an artificial lake, or even whether its name was Tollán.

127 The hydrographic knowledge of the Aztecs, then, must not be judged by what was told to credulous friars by acculturated Indians fifty years after the Conquest. Cortés' account, though doubtless somewhat colored, has more of the ring of truth. In the famous Second Letter to Charles V, he said:

127 ● 231 312 "Along one of the causeways which lead into the city, there are two conduits of masonry each two paces broad, and five feet deep, through one of which a volume of very good fresh water, the bulk of a man's body, flows into the heart of the city, from which all supply themselves, and drink. The other which is empty brings the water, when they wish to clean the first conduit, for, while one is being cleaned, the water flows through the other" (MacNutt edition, vol. 1, p. 262). Again, describing one of Montezuma's lesser palaces, he said: "It had ten pools of water, in which were kept all the many and divers breeds of waterfowl found in these parts, all domesticated; for the sea-birds, too, there were pools of salt water, and, for those of the rivers and lakes, there was fresh water, which for the sake of cleanliness, they renewed at certain times by means of pipes. To each kind of bird they gave the food which suited its habits in its free state, so that to those which ate fish they gave it; and likewise, worms, maize, and smaller

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seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266).

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

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231 136 *Quexales*, and there are other birds which have feathers of five colours—green, red, white, yellow and blue; I don't remember what they are called; then there were parrots of many different colours, and there are so many of them that I forget their names, not to mention the beautifully marked ducks and other larger ones like them. From all these birds they plucked the feathers when the time was right to do so, and the feathers grew again. All the birds that I have spoken about breed in these houses, and in the setting season certain Indian men and women who look after the birds, place the eggs under them and clean the nests and feed them, so that each kind of bird has its proper food. In this house that I have spoken of there is a great tank of fresh water and in it there are other sorts of birds with long stilted legs, with body, wings and tail all red; I don't know their names, but in the Island of Cuba they are called *Ypiris*, and there are others something like them, and there are also in that tank many other kinds of birds which always live in the water.

[346] Let us leave this and go on to another great house, where they keep many Idols, and they say that they are their fierce gods, and with them many kinds of carnivorous beasts of prey, tigers and two kinds of lions, and animals something like wolves which in this country they call jackals and foxes, and other smaller carnivorous animals, and all these carnivores they feed with flesh, and the greater number of them breed in the house. They give 782 them as food deer and fowls, dogs and other things which they are used to hunt, and I have heard it said that they feed them on the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed. It is in this way: you have already heard me say that when they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols 782 266 in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs and rear their young, and they give them to eat the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We even knew for certain that when they drove us out of Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

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bronze cannon and all the powder that we possessed, and our gunners, named Mesa and Arvenga, and they put up a highly decorated awning as a protection from the weather, and Montezuma and his chieftains went under it. As at that time there was a strong breeze blowing, and the sailors were delighted to please and content Montezuma, they worked the sails so well that they went flying along, and the canoes which held his huntsmen and chieftains were left far behind in spite of the large number of rowers they carried. Montezuma was charmed, and said that it was a great art this of combining sails and oars together. So he arrived at the Peñol, which was not very far off, and he [Montezuma] killed all the game he wanted, deer and hares and rabbits, and returned very contented to the city. When we arrived near Mexico, Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains ordered the cannon to be discharged, and this delighted Montezuma, and as we saw him so frank and kind, we treated him with the respect in which the Kings of these countries are held, and he behaved in the same manner to us. If I were to relate the traits and qualities that he showed as a great Prince, and the reverence and service that all the Lords of New Spain paid to him, I should never come to an end. There was not a thing that he ordered to be brought that was not immediately there, even if it were flying. I say this because one day three of our Captains and some of us soldiers were in Montezuma's presence, when by chance a hawk swooped down through the halls which were like corridors, after a quail, for near the houses and palaces where Montezuma was confined, there were some tame pigeons and quails kept for breeding purposes by the Indian steward (whose duty it was to keep the rooms swept) so as to give himself importance.

When our Captains saw the hawk swoop and carry off

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-

[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable.
[291] Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fuéron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI. p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

X 787 Sixth Chapter, which telleth of still another house on the sign [One Deer], called Three Water. It was in part good, in part adverse, in part only in between.

Injc chiquacen capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc ce calli, in jpan jn machiotl: in jtoca ei atl, cequj qualli, cequj tetolinj, cequj çan tlanepantla ca.

On the day sign Three Water, there was said to be good and ill.

For he who was born on it, so it was said, would prosper. All his wealth would come easily. He would be successful in gaining a living.

But, on the other hand, quickly would vanish that which had come to him. Like water it would pass away—as if carried off by the river, as if engulfed by the water. Never was he content; never happy. In vain did he cast and hurl himself against obstacles. Nowhere could he feel tranquil. Indeed, in all the things which he undertook, though he went on elbow, shank, and knee, vain and fruitless were his efforts and fatigue. He only frustrated himself.

In jpan ei atl tonalli: mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli:

ipampa in aquin ipan tlacatia, iuh mjtoaia motlacamatiz, in ixquich itlatquj, aiovi necia, vel motlaiecoltianj:

auh iece çan jciuhca, vmpoliuhtiuetzi in tlein qujmonextiliaia, iuhqujn atl onquiça, iuhqujn atoco, iuhqujn amoiaoa, aic avia, aic vellamati, çan nenia motlatlamotla, çan nenia moquauhtlaça, ácan tlacaco tlamati, nelli mach in jxquich chana, yn jmolicpi, ietepon, itlâqua ic moquequetza, çan atleti, çan nen vetzi yn jçiaujz, in itlapaliviz çan monenencoa.

The day sign Four Dog: whosoever was then born—so it was said—would prosper. Swiftly would appear that which he required—his drink, his food. Even if he did nothing all day, it was not apparent whence or through whom his heart was calmed, whence he gained strength, whence he took sustenance, there where he whiled away the whole day. But somewhere by the intercession of others, he secured that which his children needed to eat. Without his forethought came what they were to eat. He did not know whence his sustenance, his [provision for] journeying, came. Though he did and worked at little, forthwith appeared his consolation and he achieved something.

Navi itzcujntli, cemjlhujtonalli: in aquí ipan tlacatia, iuh mjtoaia motlacamatiz, iciuhca neciz, in jtech monequj in jauh, yn itlaqual, in maca nelle ai cemjlhujtl: anextica in campa tepal cevi iiollo, in vmpa pâti, vmpa ihiiocuj, vmpa qujtlaça cemjlhujtl: auh çа vmpa cana tepal qujcnopilhuja, in jntech monequj ipilhoan, injc ihiiocujxque, ainemachpan in neçi qujqua: amo quimati in campa oallauh inenca ivtlatocaia: intlanel çan tepiton, itla onai, itla contequipanoa, njman neçi in jneiollalilix, itla qujcnopilhuja:

X 787 ●231 And thus they said: if he bred dogs, he whose day sign was the dog, all would mate. His dogs would grow; none would die of sickness. As he trafficked in them, so they became as [numerous as] the sands, and so they barked.

It was said: "How can it be otherwise? The dogs share a day sign with him. Thus the breeding of dogs resulted well for him."

He sold them all. And all which were born, all came to be capes [for him]. Also owners and breeders of dogs became rich, and the price of dogs

yoan iuh qujtoaia intla itzcujnnemjti, in itzcujntli itonal, mvch vel moquetzazque: oapoazque in jtzcujoa, aiac cocolmjqujz, iuhquin tlanecujlivi, iuhquin tlatexaliuj, iuhquin tlapipitzca,

mjtoaia: quenel noço itonalecapoca in itzcujnti, injc vel itech mochióa itzcujnnemjtilitzli,

ixquich qujnnamaca, auh ixquich tlacati, moch quachquiçaia no ic mocujltonoaia, no ic vncatca in itzcujnpatiiouh, itzcujne, in jtzcujnnemjtianj: iehica

X 787 ●231

was so high, because they were eaten and needed by the people in days of old. They were in the market place—they arranged them[1] in their respective places. When dogs were sold, they seemed to have great jowls and mouths; they were judged, sought after, and coveted; whatever kind would be taken, whether short haired or long haired. Since they barked and whined, they bound, tied, and wrapped the muzzles of each of them; they were there frothing at the mouth.

ca qualoia, tetech monequja, in ie vecauh, vnmanca in tianquizco, quinaoaltemaia in chichinamacoia, in itzcujnnamacoia, iuhqujn tlatenmetlapilivi, iuhqujn tlatentomaoa netlâlâttililo, netlatlanectilo, neiicoltilo, in catle onanox: in aço tetrictic, anoço paçoltic, iuhquja tlananalca, iuhquja tlanenecivi, mochintin teteniaoaletoque, tlatetenjlpilti, têtenjlpitoque, in tetenpopoçoquillo ietoc:

And when they killed them, they dug a hole; they plunged and pressed their heads down in it with their hands, thus simply suffocating them in the mud. And the owner of a dog which had died put a cotton cord about its neck, stroked and caressed it with his hand, and said to it: "Stand guard for me there! Thou shalt pass me over the place of the nine rivers."

auh injc quinmjctiaia, quitlatatzquja in jntzontecon, vncan quimonpolactia, quinteteppachoa, injc çan quimjhiiomjctia çoquiatitlan: auh in itzcujne, in ie onmjquj itzcujn, icpatl concuzcatia, conpepetla, conmapepetla, quilhuja: Xinechalmochieli, tinechalmopanaviliz in chicunaoapan:

And some slew them only when they stole the dogs. They just fell upon and caught them in nooses; they were pounced upon and lassoed about the necks.

auh in cequjnti ic quinmjctiaia, in jquac çan quimjchtequja, chichime, çã quinvitonja, quinzconvia, movitonja, moquechtzonvia.

X 787 Five Monkey was said to be a good day. He who was then born was like the workings and qualities of the day: the telling of tales, and jesting; the amusement and entertainment of others. Neither did he thereby cause anger. That which was his joke or his story thus brought forth smiles and laughter. Everything amused and brought joy to the people; everything gave them contentment and consolation; everything was pleasing to hear. No one did he disgust. But if in something he offended someone, sometimes letting slip an evil word, so misstating what he repeated in haste without reflection, he himself made it good so that the humiliation was not noticed. So he corrected and made good his words. Thus there was no anger.

Macujl oçomatli, mjtoa, qualton tonalli: in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan vel iẽ itequjuh ilhujl, ynemac catca, in tlatlaquetzaliztli, in cacamanalli, in teellekquixtiliztli, tececemeltiliztli, amo no ic tlaqualanja, in tlein icacamanal, in jtlatlaquetzal, injc queoa vetzquiztli, injc tlauetzquitia, moch tececemelti, moch tlapactia, moch tepac, moch teiolipan, moch mouelcaquj, aiac quijiolitlacox: auh intla noço itla teiolitlaco quẽman quicamacaoa, ic motenpatilia, in ainemachpan tlein quitotiuetzi, çan no ie compatia, ineztica in tleinton ic convellalia, ic contlamachia itlatol: ic amo tlaqualanja,

For so was it said that such was his day sign; so was he born on the day of the monkey; for he gave people pleasure; was friendly to all—everyman's friend, a desirable person.

ipampa iuh mjtoa ca nel iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan tlacat, in oçomatli ca teavilia, mochi tlacatl icnjuh, tececemjcnjuh, nenequjztontli.

Six Grass, so they said, was evil, a day sign of wild beasts. For he who was then born lived only in torment on earth, suffered pain and trouble, and found afflictions. And of his children, not one survived, nor became strong, nor matured; all simply

Chiquacen malinalli iuh mjtoa: amo qualli, tequanj tonalli: ipampa in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan tlaihiiovitinemja tlaticpac, toneoatinemj, chichinacatinemj, cecoc teopouhquj, quiztinemj: auh in jpilhoan amo ceme moquetza, avel oapauj, amo vel mo-

1. Quinmolhuiaia: quinmolhuiaia in the *Real Palacio* MS. Reference to the *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, cap. i, ff. 16o-17r, suggests that the terms *cihuâtl*, *tlamacazqui*, etc., were not strongly differentiated; *molhuiaiaia* is described in the glorious variety (*cihuâtl pan ninoã hualla in jnemiz*).

And one then born they hence regarded as fortunate and said that he would be rich. Our lord would reward him; through his grace he would buy slaves and ceremonially bathe them for sacrifice. Or many times he would have others sing and dance. And[4] when they gave him a name, they arranged it for Four Reed. Then they gave food to the young boys and had them perform the naming ceremony.[5] This was because that time was the time of the election rites, of the election of the rulers of the cities.

And also it was said that on One Dog the owners and breeders of dogs rubbed ochre on all the dogs' heads.[6]

And [the day signs] which followed it were Two Monkey, and Three Grass, Four Reed, Five Ocelot, Six Eagle, Seven Vulture, Eight Motion, Nine Flint Knife,[7] Ten Rain, Eleven Flower, Twelve Crocodile, Thirteen Wind. These were all the group of day signs.

All were as in their account, as mentioned. Each day went related as to the manner of gifts of those then born. This is already explained; in many places hath it been made quite apparent. And when [these had] ended, thereupon set in —

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, injc qujtonalittaia, qujtoaia: mocujltonoz, ipal iez, qujtlamaujçalhujz in totecujo: aço tecoaz, tealtiz, aço quezquijpa cujcujcaz teitotiz: uh inic qujtocamacaia, qujn no ipan qujmattiuja in naoacatl, iquac qujtlatlaqualiaia, qujxicvenquaqualiaia in pipiltotonti: ipampa in vncan motlatocapaca, in netlatocapacaian tlatoque, altepeme.

No ioan mjtoa: in jpan in ce itzcujntli, in jzquichtin chichime, quinquatlaviaia in itzcujneque, in jtzcujnnemjtique.

Auh in qujtoqujlia vme oçomatli, ioan ey malinalli, navi acatl, macujlli oçelotl, chiquacen quiauhtli, chicome cozcaquauhtli, chicuei olin, chicunauj tecpac, matlactli qujaujtl, matlactloce xochitl, matlactlomome cipactli, matlactli vmei hecatl, in jzquitetl in cencalpā tonalli,

ça ie much iuhquj in jtoloca omoteneuh, injc cecemjlhujpā tlapoaltitiuh, in quenamj innenemac ipan tlacati, ic omomelauh mjieccan vel omonenexti: auh in jquac onquiz in nimān ic oalmoquetza.

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4. *Uh*: *auh* is intended.

5. See Chapter 9, n. 1.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Tambien tenjan una ceremonja: que en este signo, los que criauan los perrillos, que hinjan dello: los almagrauan los cabeçon."*

7. *Tecpatl* is missing.